

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 OMB-01 IO-10 /079 W  
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R 110935Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4777

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 16159

E. O. 11562: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH

SUBJ: SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS: HEGEMONY AGAIN TO THE FORE

REFS: A) TOKYO 14029; B) TOKYO 14852

SUMMARY: FOR FIRST TIME, FONMIN MIYAZAWA DISCLOSED PUBLICLY AND POSITIVELY THAT GOJ WOULD ACCEPT INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN BODY OF PEACE-FRIENDSHIP TREATY IF BASIC POSITION OF JAPAN IS "CLEARLY ACKNOWLEDGED". AS GOJ POSITION, MIYAZAWA OUTLINED SAME FOUR POINTS HE DISCUSSED IN SEPTEMBER WITH PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA:

- A) ANTI-HEGEMONY NOT DIRECTED AT SPECIFIC THIRD PARTY;
- B) REQUIRES NO JOINT ACTION;
- C) OPPOSES HEGEMONY ANYWHERE IN WORLD; AND
- D) CONFORMS TO UN CHARTER.

IN WHAT WAS APPARENTLY A SEPARATE MOVE, LDP VP SHIINA ALSO MADE REMARKS SUPPORTING INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IF CLAUSE NOT DIRECTED AT SPECIFIC THIRD POWER. ALTHOUGH CHINESE REACTION TO MIYAZAWA STATEMENT IS NOT YET KNOWN, BOTH MIYAZAWA AND SHIINA STATEMENTS SHOULD SERVE TO CONDITION RELUCTANT LDP  
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CONSERVATIVES TO EVENTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF INCLUDING

THE CLAUSE IN PFT. END SUMMARY.

1. WHILE MOTIVES MAY NOT BE SIMILAR, FONOFF AND LDP VP SHIINA HAVE MOVED CLOSER PUBLICLY TO ACCEPTANCE OF CHINESE POSITION OF INCORPORATING AN ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT). FONMIN MIYAZAWA TOLD DIET NOV 7 THAT IF THE JAPANESE BASIC POSITION ON HEGEMONY (THE FOUR POINTS) IS "CLEARLY ACKNOWLEDGED", THE GOJ WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO INCLUSION OF THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN BODY OF PFT. (MIYAZAWA DID NOT SPECIFY "CLEARLY ACKNOWLEDGED" BY WHOM IN HIS STATEMENT.) ON SUCH A BASIS, WHETHER THE CLAUSE IS INCLUDED IN THE PREAMBLE OR BODY WOULD BE A "TECHNICAL PROBLEM." MIYAZAWA THEN OUTLINED FOUR POINTS, WHICH ARE SAME POINTS COVERED IN HIS LATE SEPTEMBER CONVERSATIONS WITH PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA IN NEW YORK (REF A):

A) ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS BEING DIRECTED AT ANY SPECIFIC THIRD NATION;

B) JAPAN DOES NOT SEEK HEGEMONY AND OPPOSES ANY ATTEMPT BY ANY COUNTRY TO DO SO; INCLUSION OF CLAUSE DOES NOT IMPLY THAT JAPAN AND CHINA WILL TAKE JOINT ACTION AGAINST ANY ATTEMPT TO GAIN HEGEMONY;

C) JOINT STATEMENT OF OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY IS ILLUSTRATIVE ONLY; JAPAN OPPOSES ATTEMPTS TO GAIN HEGEMONY ANYWHERE IN WORLD;

D) ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE CONFORMS TO UN CHARTER. THUS, MOVING TOWARD A MORE POSITIVE FORMULATION THAN PUBLICLY TAKEN HERETOFORE, MIYAZAWA EASED THE GOJ POSITION TO CONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE.

2. ON THE CONSERVATIVE SIDE OF POLITICAL SPECTRUM WITHIN LDP, PARTY VP SHIINA TOLD PRESS THAT HE ALSO DID NOT OPPOSE AN ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT IF THE CLAUSE WAS NOT DIRECTED AT A SPECIFIED THIRD COUNTRY. SHIINA COMMENTED, "EVEN IF OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY IS INCLUDED, IT WILL NOT HAVE BAD EFFECTS, IF IT MEANS THAT CHINA AND JAPAN WILL NOT INVADE EACH OTHER." TO DELAY UNDULY IN CONCLUDING PFT, SHIINA SAID, COULD HARM RELATIONS BETWEEN PEKING AND OTKYO. SHIINA DID NOT SPECIFY WHETHER HE WAS ADVOCATING INCORPORATION OF THE CLAUSE IN PREAMBLE OR BODY OF PFT. ADDING THAT DESPITE PLEAS  
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FROM LDP ELDERS INCLUDING UPPER HOUSE SPEAKER KENZO KONO, SHIGERU HORI, AND OTHERS THAT HE VISIT PEKING TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK IN THE TREATY, SHIINA INSISTED THAT HE HAD NO PLANS TO GO AT LEAST IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

3. FONOFF CHINA DIVDIR FUJITA ACKNOWLEDGED TO US THAT SHIINA'S STATEMENT, COMING FROM INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF CONSERVATIVE WING OF LDP, HELPS IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE

FOR ACCOMMODATION WITH PEKING, BUT FUJITA NOTED THAT IN REALITY REMARKS BY SHIINA ARE ESSENTIALLY SAME AS THE LDP LEADER HAS USED SINCE FEBRUARY THIS YEAR WHEN HEGEMONY ISSUE FIRST AROSE. MANNER OF STATING THEM IS, HOWEVER, MORE POSITIVE.

4. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH SHIINA UNDOUBTEDLY IS MORE CONCERNED WITH DOMESTIC THAN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, HIS MORE POSITIVE STATEMENTS MAY HELP MOVE ACCEPTANCE OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLOSER TO RESPECTABILITY WITHIN CONSERVATIVE CIRCLES OF LDP. MIYAZAWA, TOO, SEEMS NOT ONLY TO BE CLARIFYING GOJ POSITION AS A TRIAL BALLOON FOR THE CHINESE AND THE RUSSIANS BUT PROBABLY IS ALSO ENGAGED IN CONDITIONING CONSERVATIVE LDP DIETMEN TO EVENTUAL INCLUSION OF THE CLAUSE IN PFT.  
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